The Single Tax

THE ORGAN OF THE SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION.

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Notes and Comments.

With this issue the *Single Tax* completes its first 12 months existence. We send greetings to all subscribers and friends. Our work has been considerably lightened during the year by the support and encouragement we have received, and our success has far and away exceeded our highest expectations. We have succeeded in no small way, both in bringing into line old friends and making new converts. The Scottish Land Restoration Union is a power to be reckoned with in the political and social reform circles of Scotland. We have endeavoured to serve the cause of the Single Tax and to be true to its principles. As an agency to the complete destruction of land monopoly and the opening up of the natural opportunities to employment it is making headway with all reformers. But the Gospel has still to be preached, and we appeal to all land restorers to continue to assist us in every legitimate way during the coming year, to place this monthly messenger of ours—the *Single Tax*—into the hands of all democrats.

JOHN SMITH'S REPLY TO "MERRIE ENGLAND," BY J. W. S. CALLIE, EDITOR *Financial Reform Almanac*.—This is a thorough criticism of *Clarion* socialism by a Single Taxer. It exposes in a most unmerciful and convincing way the shallowness of the arguments and quack remedies advanced by "Nunquam," in the guise of economics. It is also a defence of the Liberal Programme, and every reformer should secure a copy. Price Sixpence. Post free from *Single Tax* Office, 45 Montrose Street, Glasgow. Henry George says of Mr. Callie's effort:—

"I congratulate you upon the little book which seems to me excellent. Socialism is so vague and contradictory that it cannot stand argument. Its very vagueness commends it to men who will not or cannot take the trouble to think, but in the long run the men who do think will win if the discussion is only kept up."

Mr. Stead predicts the downfall of the Liberal Party at next election, because they are going to tax land values shilling by shilling until the whole unearned increment is taken for public purposes, which he calls confiscation. Perhaps it is confiscation; but that is no reason why the landlords should continue as confiscators of the unearned increment. And our opinion is that the Liberal Party are more likely to be defeated if they don't put a period soon to this same confiscation. Let us hope Mr. Stead is correct for once and that the Liberal Party will risk a fall on such a genuine and practical reform as the Taxation of Land Values.

HENRY GEORGE.—"I have seen the whole problem of labour's degradation worked out in practical life before my own eyes. Thirty years ago, sir, labour in California was comparatively free, because land was comparatively free there. Labour was then paid according to its production and not according to the lowest standard of living among the labourers as now. It was then worth what it produced and it was paid accordingly.

"Labourers being free to go upon the virgin soil and build their homes and establish their own industries, and being able there to comfortably feed and clothe their families, and to educate their children in the standard branches of useful learning, were not obliged to remain in the labour market when it offered less favourable conditions. Then California was labour's 'Promised Land.' Then California was the last rampart from which the boasted and really glorious 'Standard of American Labour' has been permitted to float.

"Then there were in our land no tramps, few paupers, and no surplus labour in enforced idleness.

"Then sparseness of population and the consequent lack of social advantages, imposed the only hardships that were known. What wonder that those who knew the freedom and the happiness of those conditions yearn for their return.

"I saw the change of social conditions come. I saw the shadow of land monopoly steal over and encompass our Golden State. I saw a few hundred men become the absolute owners and masters of her great material resources, that were manifestly intended by their Creator to furnish homes and subsistence to 40,000,000 people. I saw an empire of her best and richest land pass by Act of Congress under the dominion of a single, soulless corporation. I saw the gates of natural independence in home industry closed against American labour."

The Deer Forests Commission have reported that nearly $1\frac{3}{4}$ million acres of land are available for crofter uses. The Tories and their defenders were wont to say there was no land in the Highlands fit for cultivation, and favoured emigration schemes involving enormous sums of money for this purpose. They have dropped this no land assertion, and now want to know where the money is to come from to assist the crofter and cottar back upon the available land just discovered. Verily the ways of these defenders of privilege and land monopoly are beyond our common understanding; but they are being found out. "The mills of the Gods grind slowly but they grind exceeding small."

THE SINGLE TAX IN JAPAN.

SHIBAKU, TOKYO, JAPAN, *Feb, 20, 1895.*

To the Single Tax Clubs of the World! Greetings:

The undersigned have devoted such time and funds as they could command to the advancement of the Single Tax cause in Japan. In many respects conditions here are favourable to a propoganda of this kind. More than half the area of Japan is yet government land. Besides this, nearly every village has its commons, which should be surveyed and leased, the rent being divided; besides this, the subject of taxation is now prominently before the people. We want to do what we can to enlighten the thinking people on the two subjects of the Single Tax and proportional representation. "The Story of My Dictatorship," fitted to oriental conditions, is ready for the printers. Single Tax stamps, printed in short pithy sentences, are now in use. Lectures and newspaper articles have been doing their work.

To this we would like to add the distribution of the *Single Tax Courier*. Its fresh news, coming week by week, would do more than most anything else to help the cause along. There are hundreds of people here who can read English, and the papers do not object to publishing Single Tax matter. It only costs one-half sen to mail a paper, which in American money is only one-fourth of a cent. Our request is that every Single Tax Club subscribe for one copy of the *Single Tax Courier* through the National Committee, thus helping the committee and the paper, and doing great things for the cause here in Japan.

We can think of nothing that will go farther in the cause we all love.

We make no appeal for money, but the papers would be so much to the work here and cost you so little there! Single Taxers in England and Australia could send us their home Single Tax papers. We make occasional reports through the *Single Tax Courier* and could do the same in other papers if encouraged by these subscriptions.

Yours for Equity,

CHAS. E. GARST,
S. JO.

Address 26 Fukidecho, Shibaku, Tokyo, Japan.

Henry George has just finished a highly successful lecturing tour in Canada. In reply to an interviewer he said the Single Tax theory has a steady growth in the United States, particularly in the Southern and Western States. "Time is all that is required," he continued, "and as the years roll on it is very gratifying to observe the growth of public opinion on this subject. Intelligent opinion the world over appears gradually to be assimilating the Single Tax Theory, and at no distant date, I believe, we will see the practical application of the tenets of the Single Tax theory.

THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY.

BY L. H. B.

The speeches made and the programme adopted at the Annual Conference of the above Party, which was held during the past month, betray both the strength and the weaknesses of of this latest factor in the political arena. However small their numbers, however inconsiderable the funds at their command, however weak their faith in freedom, however misplaced their manifest confidence in the advantages of restriction and coercion, however unconvincing their arguments on matters of detail, and however undemocratic their methods of organi ation, yet can it not be denied that this young, active, and enthusiastic party is doing much work that should recommend itself to every earnest reformer. In the first place, they are certainly arousing amongst the toilers a keen and wholesome interest in political questions, and are spreading amongst them the knowledge that their well-being is largely determined by the political and social institutions under which they live. And of all political work this is perhaps the most needed at the present time. What though many of the views they hold and

many of the doctrines they promulgate may be erroneous? *Wrong*-thinking is better than *non*-thinking, at all events in political questions. The thinking man may be convinced by arguments, despite old prejudices and deep-rooted habits of thought; but with what weapons of the mind can the non-thinker be convinced of the necessity for some radical change in those institutions to which he has grown accustomed, and whose equity he has never questioned? True it is that anything that awakens thought makes for progress; and those who have faith in the people, in humanity, cannot doubt for a moment but that those whose minds are once awakened to the injustice of present conditions, and whose desire is for truth, peace and, progress, must, sooner or later, come to recognise and embrace the fundamental truth that what is really requisite to the attainment of their aims is Justice, not State Aid; Freedom, and not Coercion.

In his short opening address, the temporary Chairman, Mr. Pete Curran, gave voice in unmistakable tones to the main object of the new party. "They declared war," he said, "against all those who supported class privilege and monopoly of every description." Without doubt it is this sentiment that inspires all the enthusiasm and loving self-sacrifice manifested, to our own knowledge, by many of its rank and file. And if this principle, of opposition to monopoly and privilege, and of the desire to establish social justice, were adopted as the *sole constitution* of this or any other party—without any rules determining the methods of warfare, or any regulations restricting the actions of its members—it would soon gain in strength, numbers, and influence. Such an organisation would appeal to reformers of every shade of opinion; for they are all engaged in the same war, all fighting against the same enemy, albeit with different weapons and different methods. And in such a society, in which both freedom of action and freedom of opinion would be recognised as fundamental rights of every member; in which the freest discussion could and would take place, without the fear of offending any majority or any leader; there would soon be more true unanimity and harmonious action than in any association in which uniformity of opinion is demanded as a necessary condition of membership, and the sacrifice of personal judgment enforced by one of the chief planks in their constitution.

But to our subject. In Mr. Keir Hardie's speech, on the second day of the Conference, there are several points of interest. Many, even of those who doubt the wisdom of his actions in Parliament, will welcome his severe denunciations of the Whig wire-pullers of the present Liberal Party. Though it might temporarily wreck the Liberal *Party*, the Liberal *Cause* would undoubtedly be advanced if these gentry were to transfer their services to the avowed party of privilege and monopoly, with whom their interests and class bias cause them to be more in sympathy. Altering the name of the party of progress would, however, do nothing to alter its character, and in this connection it is noteworthy that Mr. Keir Hardie's pointed description of the Liberal Party applies also and with equal force to that of which he is now the accepted chief. "There was a section of honest reformers," he said, "men really in earnest, and who endeavoured to use the party for the purpose of securing the reforms to which they were pledged. There was another section of sharp, scheming politicians, who supported the party simply for what they could get out of it for their own personal benefit; and then there was the Whig element, which was as timid and stupid to-day as it had ever been at any period in the history of the nation." Of such elements, every political party, by whatever name it may call itself, is almost inevitably composed; and that for the simple reason that such diverse elements will be found in almost every body of men who come together for any purpose. The party of progress, however, need never hope to be perfectly unanimous on all points of detail; it is sufficient if it is able to unite all the different sections on some underlying and fundamental principle. Under such circumstances all earnest reformers, instead of playing into the hands of the common enemy by quarrelling amongst themselves, could assist one another's projects in all cases where this could be done without any sacrifice of principles or convictions.

There is one other point in Mr. Hardie's speech to which we feel bound to refer. He claimed for himself "absolute freedom to say what he liked . . . . . *and to take his own line of action in and out of Parliament*," in the interest, of course, of those whose cause he has espoused. Good! But, then what about the much discussed Fourth Clause, which makes membership of the I.L.P. possible only on giving the following pledge:—"I hereby pledge myself a Socialist, pledge myself to sever all connection with any other political party, and to vote in the case of local elections as my branch of the Independent Labour Party may determine, and in the case of general parliamentary elections as the conference specially convened for that purpose may decide." Should not the same "absolute freedom" be secured, as a matter of principle, to every other member of the I.L.P.? Or are we to understand that such "absolute freedom" is a special *privilege*, to be enjoyed only by the different leaders of that very party which is opposed to all class privilege? This point deserves discussion by the different Labour Organisations affiliated with the I.L.P. They have to choose between freedom and restriction. But whichever be chosen, it should be enforced on all alike, on the leaders as on the humblest member of the rank and file. As things now stand the only member of the *Independent* Labour Party who is in any sense *independent* is Mr. Keir Hardie, the rest are bound hand and foot. Hence, doubtless, the expressed desire to change the name of the organisation so as no longer to prostitute the word "independent." For surely no man of any *independent* thought or feeling could join a society demanding from its members such a pledge—except, of course, as leader; *i.e.*, as a *free* and *independent* leader of *bound* and *dependent* followers.

The programme adopted runs as follows:—

AGRICULTURAL.

That the land being the storehouse of all the essentials of life, ought to be declared and treated as public property, and be so cultivated as to provide the food supply of the people; and as steps towards this we recommend for immediate adoption the following programme:—

1. The creation of a State Land Department.
2. The establishment of free agricultural colleges and model farms, at which the requisite training in every department of food production may be obtained.
3. That parish, district, borough, and county councils be invested with compulsory powers to acquire land which they shall themselves cultivate or let within their respective areas.
4. Fixity of tenute with *compensation* for *improvements* in case of disturbance.
5. The reafforestation of land unsuited for cultivation, and the reclamation of waste lands and foreshores.
6. The proper utilisation on the land of the sewage which now pollutes the rivers and lakes. Local authorities to be invested with full powers to give effect to this.
7. An agricultural produce post for the systematic collection and transmission to markets of the produce of the farm, the orchard, and the dairy.
8. Land values, urban and rural, to be treated as public property.
9. In cases where it is necessary to acquire land by purchase, such purchase shall take the form of terminable annuities. The Government shall issue land bonds, to carry current rates of interest, and be redeemable at par within a period not exceeding fifty years.

INDUSTRIAL.

The true object of industry being the production of the requirements of life, the responsibility for this production should rest with the community collectively; work and the wealth resulting therefrom should be equitably distributed over the population, and, as a means to this end, we demand the immediate enactment of the following programme:—

1. A maximum eight hour working day, with the retention of all existing holidays and Labour Day, May 1st, secured by law.
2. No child to commence wage-work under fifteen years of age.
3. State pensions for every person at fifty-five years of age, and adequate provision for all widows, orphans, sick and disabled workers: the necessary funds to be obtained by a tax upon unearned incomes.
4. The nationalisation of railways and waterways, pending which the equalisation of rates.

EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL.

1. Free secular primary, secondary, and university education.
2. Free maintenance for school children.
3. Municipalisation and popular control of the liquor traffic.
4. The substitution of arbitration for war, and the consequent disarmament of the nations.

FISCAL.

1. Abolition of indirect taxation.
2. A direct cumulative tax on all incomes exceeding £300 a year.
3. Taxation to extinction of all unearned incomes.

A clause under the industrial heading bearing on the question of providing work for the unemployed was left to be dealt with until the whole question had been dealt with in the shape of resolutions.

On this it is unnecessary for us to comment, and we can safely leave it to the judgment of our readers. It certainly shows that a knowledge of the importance of the Land Question is rapidly spreading amongst those whose attention has been once directed to the social question; and we have reason to believe that on this question many of the rank and file of the I.L.P. are well in advance of their leaders. But it also betrays that many of our fellow workers are still tainted with that imperialistic and reactionary spirit that looks to Governments, State Aid, and Legislation to grant palliatives which in themselves will do nothing to remove the causes of the evils against which all reformers are contending, and to *enforce* reforms that would evolve naturally and more healthily under the beneficent influence of equitable conditions and true freedom.

By the Way.

Four members of the executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union have been elected Parish Councillors. Mr G. B. Waddell and Mr Wm. Webster, Glasgow; Mr Thomas Cameron and Mr Thomas Lindsay, Campsie.

The London *Post* states that the purport of the Deer Forests Commission is to drive the Landlords from the Highlands, and gravely warns us that this would be a fatal mistake, as once away they might refuse to come back, and the Highland population could not exist without them.

This beats the record scored by the *Glasgow Herald* when it pictured the Crofters feasting on ham and eggs for breakfast, and the landlords thinking of taking up their quarters in the workhouse.

Mr. Harry Ll. Davies, one of the Glasgow Henry George Institute men, has an article in the April *Free Review* on "Arnold Toynbee and Henry George," which every Single Taxer should read.

THE ARITHMETIC OF THE I. L. P.—We are told, for example, on official authority at the conference that the number of *paying* members is 35,000. Mr Hardie in the *Nineteenth Century* puts the total we think at 50,000 and the contribution from each member at 3d. per week. Let us take the lower figure and only assume 1d. a week as paid to the centre. That, on 35,000 paying members, is, in round figures, £145 a week, or £7,540 a year. But the treasurer, Mr Lister of Halifax, has received, from all sources, he says, much less than a tenth of that sum and the organisation owes him £133! It is a mistake and harms the movement to set out such incompatible figures as these. We make these criticisms in no unfriendly spirit. We don't care a straw ourselves where the money comes from to keep the *Labour Leader* afloat nor to run the candidates. That is the affair of the Independent Labour Party. But though there is no discredit in being poor there is discredit, which attaches unfortunately to the whole labour movement, in such financial fudgery as that we speak of.—*Justice.*

Bastiat truthfully says:—"Government is the great fiction through which everybody endeavours to live at the expense of everybody else." We add that it ought to be the great power which prevents anybody from living at the expense of anybody else. Abolish privileges, and men will find it cheaper to live by their labour than by plunder.

The following are the only possible systems of government:—

The present system; when the few plunder the many.

Socialism; when the many plunder the few.

Anarchism; when everybody plunders everybody else.

Single Tax; when nobody can plunder and everybody enjoys the full result of his labour.

Ask all Candidates for Municipal and Parliamentary Honours this Question—

TRADE UNIONS AND LANDLORDISM.

HOW PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IN LAND KEEPS DOWN WAGES.

AN APPEAL FOR CO-OPERATION.

It is one of the most significant tributes to the solid basis of practical common sense that underlies the work of the organised trade unions of the United Kingdom that, for several years past, the annual Trades Congress has, with practical unanimity, affirmed the principle of the national ownership of land. Amid many detailed and technical proposals for the improvement of the condition of the workers in various industries, this protest against the private ownership of land now has a permanent place. And it is fitting that it should be so. For this question of the land overshadows all other reforms. It is the root from which industrial grievances spring. It is the basis upon which every social injustice stands; and while it remains we may palliate injustice here and there a little, but can never effect that general advancement of the working classes which the Trades Congress is banded together to secure. The private ownership of land is able to neutralise the effect of much work that would otherwise be productive of great good; and at every point and turn it stands in the way of the workman who desires to make his class independent and happy. Therefore the standing resolution of Congress on the subject is notable as a proof of the insight possessed by the labour leaders into the real foundation upon which class privilege and its accompanying evils find a firm footing.

The practical instincts of the British workmen will not allow this resolution to be a mere pious expression of opinion. What is wanted is some channel through which the force of this opinion can be sent so as to produce actual and tangible results; some method of working that will enable the principle not only to be affirmed in words, but realised in facts. Working, as the trade unions are, for the improvement of the conditions of labour, and recognising, as they do, that fair access to the land is essential to the prosperity aud due reward of industry, we would suggest the advisability of hearty co-operation with those who have undertaken the special work of organising public opinion upon the land question.

There can be but little need to argue as to the necessity of such a step. THE LAND QUESTION STANDS UPON A DIFFERENT BASIS TO ANY OTHER LABOUR QUESTION. Until it is settled the trade unions, with all their splendid energy, can make very little permanent impression upon the main bulk of social injustice. A glaring excess of injustice here and there may be lopped off, but the great mass of class privilege and inequality will remain. We suggest that trade organisations throughout the United Kingdom should affiliate with the Land Values Taxation Committee for the purpose of this special work.

The method of reform advocated by the Committee is easy of application, and easily understood. We deny the right of any man to a monopoly of the earth. His present possession of that monopoly was begotten by injustice, continued in injustice, and results in injustice. That the community should pay the present holders of land compensation for resuming its rightful ownership is a contention with which we have no sympathy. Instead of buying out the landlords we must tax them out. This principle has been accepted by the Liberal Party which, in the Newcastle programme, has adopted the taxation of land values as one of its main intended reforms.

The Royal Commission on the housing question has also given expression to weighty and impressive opinions in the same direction. Working men do not need to be told that it is the refusal of direct access to the land which keeps the wages of agricultural labourers at 11/ or 12/ a week, thereby constituting the competition of these labourers a standing menace to the standard of working class hiring in every industry. The taxation of land values would cure that. It would give an enormous impetus to industry by relieving it of the burdens it now has to bear, by throwing open lands held for speculative or unprofitable purposes, and would give effectiveness to all the other reforms that are at present nullified.

THE RESULT OF SUCH A POLICY MUST BE EVIDENT TO EVERY INTELLIGENT WORKMAN. By throwing land into the market, and opening it up to industry, the taxation of land values would affect the unemployed question to a degree beyond the narrow calculations of those pettifogging statesmen who tinker at reforms without going to the root of the evil. Land at present held for speculative or unprofitable purposes would be thrown open. Agricultural rents would fall. Labour would be thus attracted in large quantities to the land. Wages would go up with a bound; for who would work as a labourer for another man at the existing miserable wages when he could earn his own living on his own land? The effect of all this upon the artisans of the towns would be enormous. The great housing improvements so urgently needed, but at present hindered by the landowning class, would be put in hand at once; and a general stimulus given to every branch of industry. The adjustment of this question is the first duty of every civilised Government. As the law now stands, the classes possess—and do not fail to avail themselves of—the means of robbing labour; and the fair development of human life is consequently rendered impossible.

Trade unionism must therefore go hand in hand with land reform if it is to be thoroughly successful. Of course no Government has a right to pauperise anyone; and the friends of landlordism have ingeniously used the fact that a few working men, out of their hard-earned savings, have got little freeholds, and under cover of asking what is to become of these if private ownership of land is done away with, have attempted to stir up working class sympathy with the Dukes and Squires. The attempt is, of course, utterly ridiculous; but at the same time it is as well to point out that while compensation as compensation cannot for a moment be accepted, it is quite within the power of Parliament to make such provision as would prevent the taxation of land values from reducing such men to pauperism. But that is quite a different matter from giving huge sums in compensation to landowners who have made ample provision for themselves at the public expense.

IN ORDER TO PUSH FORWARD THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THIS REFORM we invite the earnest consideration of all associations seeking the improvement of labour, with a view to their affiliation with the Committee. Each has its own special and detailed work to do, and could hardly give up from that special work the time and energy with which it is necessary to pursue this matter in which all are so largely concerned. But by affiliation with the Committee they can give the sanction of their authority and support to the practical working out of a principle which they have already repeatedly sanctioned in theory; and can show that they do not believe in leaving resolutions to lie idle after they have passed them, but are intent upon following them up until they are no longer mere proposals but accomplished facts.—*"Tracks for the Times," No. 4. Published by the Committee for the Taxation of Land Values, London.*

Coming Events.

May 1. Partick Liberal Club, 8 p.m. "Merrie England" (a criticism).—Mr. John Paul.

„ 12. Albion Halls, College Street. Debate—"Will the Single Tax be more speedily realised through the Liberal Party, or by independent action."—*Aff.* Mr. John Cassels. *Neg.* Mr. J. Bruce Glasier. Tickets, 3d. each. The proceeds are to go to the widow of the late Andrew Muir, and all Glasgow friends are expected to do their utmost to make the meeting a success.

A contemporary says the Duke of Argyle has spent £300,000 on his Kintyre estate. Query—where did the Duke get the £300,000? If from the rents, then the Duke has simply acted as agent in the matter. The toilers in Kintyre have in reality paid the money.

NEW ZEALAND LETTER.

(To the Editor of The Single Tax.)

SIR,—I have to thank some kind friend for sending me copies of your excellent little paper. It gives me a good idea of the universality of the movement for the taxation of land values. Doubtless your readers will be pleased to hear something from this remote colony—sometimes called "The Britain of the South." Though, so to speak, in our infancy as a nation, the chief, if not the sole evil we have to contend against is the monopoly of our land. According to statistics gathered about five years ago, more than a fourth of the superficies of New Zealand is the private property of about 1600 persons. and there are upwards of 1100 absentee owners We have made a step in the right direction since then, but there yet remains much to be achieved. In the early days of colonisation the land was acquired from the natives for the smallest trifles—and this it was that led, when the Maoris became more enlightened a few years later, to the disastrous war. Subsequently when the colony became more settled, the land was parted with by the Crown under law made by the landowners in their own interest, despite the repeated and eloquent warnings of Sir George Grey and a few others. In the meantime millions of pounds were borrowed from English money-lenders for the prosecution of public works, and the interest has to be paid. Sir Julius Vogel did propose in 1870 to impose a betterment tax, but the "landed interest" was too powerful, and he had to abandon the idea. The result is that our obligations are mainly met by Customs duties and the people are thus not only deprived of the soil, but they have to bear the burdens of taxation as well.

At present more than a million and a half pounds are annually wrung from the people by so-called protective duties. Yet we number only about 700,000 people in all. A few years ago the principle of the plural vote was abolished and an amendment to the Representation Bill carried, debarring anyone from voting in more than one electorate. This gave the people an immense advantage—which, by the way, they have not yet fully appreciated—and the election of 1890 resulted in the return of a number of members pledged, amongst other things, to a tax on land values. The Land Tax Act has been to a large extent vitiated by exemptions and graduations, and it has besides been allied with an Income Tax. But, despite these defects, it has amply demonstrated the soundness of Henry George's principle. It has exceeded anticipations as a revenue producer, and has had the effect of considerably checking speculation in land. Last session a Bill was introduced in the Lower House by the Government empowering the ratepayers to place all rates on unimproved values if they decided by majority at a poll, which a percentage of ratepayers would have the power to cause. The Bill passed the House by a sweeping majority but was rejected in the Legislative Council by two votes.

The principle of non-party government by having an elective Cabinet, and the referendum or popular veto on legislation, is finding much favour here, and from the present trend of popular feeling it seems certain that in a few years we will be governed on the Swiss model. Certainly the Single Taxers have nothing to fear in the referendum; indeed it seems to me that a popular vote in the United Kingdom would very soon settle the question of Home Rule for Ireland and the difficulty with the House of Lords.

I was very pleased to read in your paper Mr. Norman M'Lennan's cheering letter about the progress of the movement in America. It seems to have impressed Mr. M'Lennan to find there, men of the same mind and determination as in his own country. What would he say if he steamed across the ocean for six weeks and found men of the same stamp at the end of his journey? Yes, they are here and in the Australian Colonies. The Single Tax crusade is being carried on by good men and true "who will not rest till victory is won." And it cheers them in the fight to hear news from the other side of the world such as that conveyed by the organ of the Land Restoration Union.

PATRICK J. O'REGAN.

REEFTON, NEW ZEALAND, *12th February, 1895.*

"Are you in favour of Taxing Land Values?"

The Single Tax.

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,,	D. Campbell, 180 Parliamentary Road
,,	D. Campbell, 201 Stirling Road
,,	M'Laughlin, Garngad Road
,,	Gowan, Garngad Road
Govan,	A. B. Cochrane, 790 Govan Road
Hamilton,	J. S. Smith, 149 Quarry Street
,,	A. Lees, Enfield Place
Burnbank,	J. Lang, 24 Glasgow Road
Coatbridge,	A. Pettigrew, 54 Main Street
,,	Wotherspoon, 91 Main Street
Kilmarnock,	T. Rodger, King Street
Kirkintilloch,	Robert Goudie, Cowgate Street
Milton of Campsie,	Mrs. Morrison, Post Office
Lennoxtown,	Mrs. Mathieson, Main Street
Milngavie,	John Miller, Newsagent
Alexandria,	Mrs. Neilson
Maryhill,	T. Graham, 181 Main Street
Bonhill,	J. B. M'Gregor, Bookseller

TO LAND REFORMERS.

The Executive of the Scottish Land Restoration Union appeal to all sympathisers throughout Scotland to become members of the Union. Minimum Annual Subscription, 1s. A Subscription of 2s. 6d. secures membership of the Union and a copy of the "Single Tax," post free, for a twelvemonth.

There are a number of excellent pamphlets on hand at the Office, 45 Montrose Street, which we shall be glad to forward at special rates for sale or distribution. Friends who desire to be informed on the land question, or to assist others to that end, could not do better than invest in an assorted number of the pamphlets published by the Union. For sample copies and terms apply to the Secretary.

TO SECRETARIES OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM ORGANIZATIONS.—The Scottish Land Restoration Union are prepared to supply lecturers on social and labour problems. Address—The Secretary, 45 Montrose Street, Glasgow.

The receipt of a copy of this paper from the office is an invitation to subscribe.

APPEAL TO LAND REFORMERS.

SCOTTISH LAND RESTORATION UNION OFFICE: 45 MONTROSE STREET, GLASGOW.

Excerpt from Minutes, 9th February, 1895.

"That this Executive resolves to raise a Fund of £200 per year to cover an estimated expenditure for the purpose of maintaining and extending the propaganda work of the Union. The £200 to be guaranteed for the first two years."

The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to discuss and take the necessary steps to this end.:—

Councillor D. M'LARDY.	G. B. WADDELL.
Councillor J. FERGUSON.	N. M'LENNAN.
Bailie BURT.	JOHN PAUL.
DAVID CASSELLS, Senr.	J. O'D. DERRICK.

Signed on behalf of the Scottish Land Restoration Union,

DAVID M'LARDY, *President.*
N. M'LENNAN, W. REID, } *Joint Secs.*

May 1st, 1895.—The undermentioned agree to subscribe the sums opposite their names per year for the next two years:—

Councillor D. M'Lardy, Glasgow, -	£5	0	0
Bailie Burt, Glasgow, - - -	5	0	0
Councillor G. B. Waddell, Glasgow, -	5	0	0
Councillor Ferguson, Glasgow, -	5	0	0
James Neilson, Glasgow, - -	5	0	0
Councillor George Green, Partick, -	5	0	0
George Kay, Glasgow, - - -	5	0	0
Councillor T. Cameron, Milton of Campsie, - - - - -	2	0	0
Councillor W. Webster, Jr., Glasgow,	1	10	0
J. O'Donnell Derrick, Glasgow, -	1	10	0
R. Cassels, Glasgow, - - -	1	10	0
G. Longmuir, Glasgow, - -	1	10	0
William M'Lennan, Glasgow, - -	1	10	0
Norman M'Lennan, Glasgow, - -	1	4	0
William Cassels, Glasgow, - -	1	4	0
William Reid, Glasgow, - - -	1	4	0
John Paul, Glasgow, - - -	1	4	0
Richard Whyte, Glasgow, - -	1	4	0
F. S. Mein, Glasgow, - - -	1	4	0
John Cassels, Glasgow, - - -	1	4	0
D. Cassels, Junr., Glasgow, - -	1	4	0
Rev. J. M. Cruickshank, Glasgow, -	1	4	0
Councillor T. Lindsay, Lennoxtown,	1	4	0

The *Single Tax* is the only pronounced advocate of the Single Tax movement in Great Britain. Sympathisers wherever they may be, can, and ought to assist us in extending our circulation. The paper will have been a year in existence with the issue of the present number. Its success during this period, the converts it has made, the new Land Restoration Societies it has been the means of forming, and the other good work it has done, warrants its continuance. The Committee of Management are desirous of the addition, by 31st May next, of at least

ONE THOUSAND EXTRA ANNUAL SUBSCRIBERS TO THE *SINGLE TAX.*

Let our readers exert themselves a little. What Land Reformer will refuse 1s. 6d. per annum to maintain this important part of the work? We would urge our readers to assist by canvassing their friends for this purpose. If this is done, we have no fear but that the One Thousand Extra Annual Subscribers wanted, will be secured, and the Executive placed in a stronger position to send the paper still further into the highways and byeways of political and social reform.

"We would simply take for the community what belongs to the community, the value that attaches to land by the growth of the community; leave sacredly to the individual all that belongs to the individual. . . . Thus, if a man takes a fish from the ocean he acquires a right of property in that fish, which exclusive right he may transfer by sale or gift. But he cannot obtain a similar right of property in the ocean, so that he may sell it or give it, or forbid others to use it."—Henry George.

GLASGOW TOWN COUNCIL AND THE UNEARNED INCREMENT.

The Town Council of Glasgow have again adjourned the discussion of the report of the sub-committee appointed some time ago to discuss the question of how to take the unearned increment for the uses of the community. The committee have formulated a scheme to which the City Assessor has adhibited his name; but even with that advantage it won't do. Let it speak for itself. It proposes to deal with—

(1) AGRICULTURAL LAND;
(2) LAND OTHER THAN AGRICULTURAL;
(3) LAND AND BUILDINGS ON SAME

No. 1 Land is to be assessed on the sum or difference of price obtained over the agricultural value of the land, a deduction being made for that part of the price or value due to improvements.

No. 2 Land.—Owners who sell or feu their land at a profit to be assessed on the sum or difference of price obtained over that paid for same, deductions being made as in the first case for that part of the price or value due to improvements.

No. 3 Land.—Owners to be specially taxed on increment rent or value—*i.e.*, on all increase in rent or value beyond that at the passing of the Act, with an annual deduction of 7½ per cent. to allow for improvements, etc, on the property.

This is a most disappointing proposal. Even as a first step it is clumsy and ill-advised as a means of securing the unearned increment; but its real defect is that it fails entirely to touch the question of land monopoly. It would not force one idle acre into use. Nay more—the very fact that it proposes to impose fresh burdens upon land as it comes into higher use—from agricultural to urban purposes—will tend to make it a closer monopoly In the first place, it falls on the price obtained over the agricultural value of the land; it does not propose to touch the value of agricultural land until it is sold. It is, therefore, a tax that will certainly be added by the owner to the original price demanded, which the buyer will in turn impose upon the occupier.

The second instance, which deals with land other than agricultural, is exactly on the same footing as the first. Other than agricultural means urban land, we presume. The tax is to fall "on the price obtained over that paid for same," which means that the land speculator, when dealing with those who want to use the land, will duly take into consideration the amount of tax he will be called upon to pay, and make it part of the price he demands. If he can find a builder willing to take on these terms, well and good; but it will not force him to look for a builder—and that is where this precious scheme fails utterly to touch the real question at issue.

If the Town Council of Glasgow are to get powers from Parliament to tax land values, let it be a measure that will do something at once to free the land from the landlord's grip. Let the tax be one that will fall on the values of all land, whether put to use or not. This will tend at once to force vacant land into use, on pain of the owners paying taxes annually on its full value. The proposal of this committee is to tax a part of the value not now, but when the land is put to use. Better leave the question, as a contemporary advises, to Imperial Parliament than play with it in this manner.

The third item dealt with "Land and Buildings on same"—brings us to the question of the future unearned increment. Take one of the examples given. Here is a shop in Renfield Street, the rental of which at passing of act is, say, £425. Rental for current year £425. Increment rent or value £25. Which £25 is to be specially taxed. It is a miserable sham proposal, and is morally weak. This £25 of increase might be due to the holder of a ground annual. Yet, under this system, it would be taken from him, while those who take the whole of the "swag" at present would be left untouched. If the community has a right to the £25 of increase it has an equal right to the whole. To discriminate

SERVE THE CAUSE BY HANDING THE PAPER TO A FRIEND.

like this where a great principle is involved is a sign of weakness, and if persisted in can only bring confusion and disaster to all concerned.

What is wanted is an act that will impose taxation on the full unearned increment now, so much per £, till the final 20s. per £ is taken. This will deal with present increment and every future increase; and in-as-much as it will do so it will completely destroy land speculation, the root-cause of all social *wrong*.

We need hardly say that neither Bailie Burt nor Councillor M'Lardy countenance this proposal, and even Councillor Ferguson, who acted as convener of the committee, in moving the adoption of the minutes made it perfectly plain that he was not much caring whether the Council supported it or not. He hopes to get the air clear and to carry a thorough scheme through a reformed City Council later on. It lies with the ratepayers themselves. If they desire this reform let them set to work and correctly inform themselves about it, and return men to the Council who will see to it that the unearned increment will be made the basis of the City's taxation in the right, and only way.

THE SINGLE TAX OVERSHADOWS ALL EFFORTS.

A Scotch correspondent to the St. Louis *Single Tax Courier* writes:—"The Labour Socialist Party is creating a stir all over Britain. 'The nationalisation of everything'—labour included; 'no more poverty;' to each according to his needs and from each according to his abilities," are catching phrases to the unthinking, but when our friends, the enemy, come to face politicians, with practical steps towards their ideal, they are baffled and beaten every time. As an instance, Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., the man who, on the platform, denounces vehemently the robbery by the landlords of £8,000,000 per annum from the mining industry of the country, has nothing to propose as a politician in the House of Commons but a miserable reactionary scheme of purchasing said landlords out to the tune of £110,000,000. The advanced sentiment in the country both laughed at and ignored the proposal.

"Again, the Socialists have, more than any other party, presumed to make the cause of the unemployed their own, and all they have offered as yet, as a solution of the problem, is the granting of money from Parliament, and Local Councils, to set the unemployed to work, the reclamation of waste land, etc. It never seems to have entered their heads that that is what has largely created an unemployed class. We have been reclaiming and improving waste lands all along, and the real trouble is that the landlords have pocketed the results everytime in the form of rent, and put up the price of the next lot to be used.

"The fact is, the Socialists are untrue to the unemployed and to the suffering poor. They are not so desirous of solving the problem as that socialism shall solve it. Many of them know the virtues of the Single Tax as a solution of the problem, but because they are down on capital, the problem must be destroyed by the destruction of the capitalist class. They are unworthy the position they arrogate to themselves on this vital unemployed question, and they cannot solve it outside of the Single Tax method. The opportunities for employment that lie behind land monopoly must be opened up, and just because of this, they who advance along political lines, though they may be sublimely unconscious of it, are overshadowed by Single Tax."

Single Tax Items.

"We are so accustomed to poverty that even in the most advanced countries we regard it as the natural lot of the great masses of the people; that we take it as a matter of course that even in our highest civilisation large classes should want the necessaries of healthful life, and the vast majority should only get a poor and pinched living by the hardest toil. There are professors of political economy who teach that this condition of things is the result of social laws of which it is idle to complain! There are ministers of religion who preach that this is the condition which an all-wise, all-powerful Creator intended for His children! If an architect were to build a theatre so that not more than one-tenth of the audience could see and hear, we should call him a bungler and a botch. If a man were to give a feast and provide so little food that nine-tenths of his guests must go away hungry, we should call him a fool, or worse. Yet so accustomed are we to poverty, that even the preachers of what passes for Christianity tell us that the great Architect of the Universe, to whose infinite skill all nature testifies, has made such a botch job of this world that the vast majority of the human creatures whom He has called into it are condemned by the conditions He has imposed to want, suffering and brutalising toil that gives no opportunity for the development of mental powers—must pass their lives in a hard struggle to merely live!"—*Henry George.*

From the Glasgow Property Sales, April 25th, we learn that "two plots of ground at Queen's Drive, Camphill Street, comprising 3933 square yards, were sold at 25s. 6d. per square yard."

On April 4th the Dundee Liberal Association passed the following resolution unanimously:—

"That this Association desires to call the attention of the Government to that part of the Newcastle programme relating to the taxation of land values; hopes that some provision will, if possible, be made in the ensuing Budget dealing with this question, and calls upon our representatives to give all the assistance in their power to the Government on that occasion; and that copies of the resolution be sent to Sir Willam Harcourt, Sir John Leng, and Mr Edmund Robertson.

SUBSOIL PLOUGHING AND ITS RESULT.—The experiment in this instance was made on French soil, in the neighbourhood of Dunkirk. A field of uniform soil was divided into three parts (*a*, *b*, and *c*), and sown with wheat after the following preparation: *a* was simply ploughed, *b* ploughed and drained, *c* drained and subsoiled. All three plots were manured in the same way. *Result:* 1. Number of sheaves yielded—*a*, 2,086; *b*, 2,224; *c*, 2,833. The costly process of draining only increased the yield therefore by 138 sheaves, while the subsoiling gave an increase of 609 sheaves in *c* as against *b*. 2. Weight of crop—*a*, twenty-six and a half hundredweight; *b*, thirty-four and a quarter hundredweight; *c*, forty-three hundredweight. Draining, therefore, gave an increase in weight of twenty-nine per cent.; draining and subsoiling an increase of sixty-two per cent. 3. Price of crop—*a*, £12 10s.; *b*, £16 13s.; *c*, £20 16s.—*Hodge.*

THE RIDDLE OF THE SPHINX.

BY CLARENCE A. MILLER.

"It is the riddle which the Sphinx of Fate puts to our civilization, and which not to answer is to be destroyed."—*Henry George in "Progress and Poverty."*

"Why the unemployed?
Answer, or be destroyed."
Thus the modern Sphinx
Questions him who thinks.

Dazed by whirling wheels,
The Socialist blindly feels—
"Machinery," he thinks,
An answer for the Sphinx.

"Scatter the glittering prize—
Money!" the rabble cries.
Impassive is the Sphinx—
Grave, the man who thinks.

The Anarchist unkempt
Shrieks "Down with Government!"
Impassive is the Sphinx—
Trembles he who thinks.
"Speak! ye unemployed,
Speak! ere we be destroyed."

"We want—we want the earth!
Our right—our right by birth—
Can we, like gods, create?
Turn, avert the fate."

Turns the man who thinks
But vanished is the Sphinx.

IT IS SAID THAT—

When Rome went down 1,800 men owned all the world.

When Babylon went down 2 per cent. of her population owned all the wealth.

When Egypt went down 2 per cent. of her population owned 97 per cent. of her wealth.

There are about 40,000,000 people in England Ireland, and Wales, and 100,000 own all the United Kingdom.

In 1860 there were but two millionaires in the United States and no tramps. To-day there are 35,000 millionaires and 1,500,000 tramps.

In the United States three fifths of the entire wealth of the country is owned by 31,000 persons—less than one-twelfth of 1 per cent. of the population.

Verily, "Whosoever hath to him shall be given;" but, in the good time coming, it is not the idler, but the worker that shall *have*.

"Compelled to more continuous labour than the savage, the labourer—a mere link in an enormous chain of producers and consumers, helpless to separate himself and helpless to move, except as they move—gains the necessaries of life, just what the savage gets, and loses the independence of the savage.—*Henry George.*

The E. C. committee for the taxation of land values are supplying the following postcards to be signed and forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the M.P. for the constituency of the sender.

TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER,
Downing Street, Whitehall, London, S.W.

"SIR,—It is commonly reported that the Government have decided to spend a large sum of money for the purpose of strengthening the Navy and defences, and as it is certain that the committee considering the problem of the unemployed will have to advise a further large expenditure, I urge upon you the injustice of increasing the burdens of present taxation, and would respectfully request you to fulfil the pledge given at Newcastle in 1886 by arranging in your next Budget for the taxation of land values at the rate of 4s. in the £ on present values."

To ——— M. P.

"SIR,—I have this day forwarded to the Chancellor of the Exchequer a request that he will fulfil the pledge of the Government given in the Newcastle programme to Tax Land Values. It is impossible that present burdens can be increased, while it is equally certain that large expenditure will be required for the increasing of the Navy and defences, and for dealing with the question of the unemployed. It is manifestly unjust that the £160,000,000 taken by the ground landlords yearly should go untaxed, and I, therefore, urge you to press for this important reform, so that justice shall be done."

It is claimed that fully 20,000,000 acres of American soil are owned by great landowners in England and Scotland. This does not include the Holland syndicate, which owns 5,000,000 acres of grazing land in Western States, nor the German syndicate, owning 2,000,000 acres in various States.

Mr. Vanderbilt "owns" 2,000,000 acres of land; Mr. Disston, of Pensylvania, boasts of his 4,000,000 acres, and foreign noblemen own 21,000,000 acres of the land of the United States.

The Duke of Westminster gives about £60,000 a year to charities. His tenants first give him more than £600,000. There charity, though of the compulsory kind, really maintains him.

READ OUR "APPEAL TO LAND REFORMERS," Page 4.

A PIONEER OF THE "SINGLE TAX."

By L. H. B.

Democrats of all shades of opinion delight to honour the memory of those heroic souls who in the past have fought for freedom and equality of rights in the great, and still active, struggle with despotism and privilege. They would also do well to keep green the memories of those few philosophers who, in the privacy of the study, uncheered by the applause of comrades, and inspired only by the desire for the triumph of truth and justice, have striven to ascertain the causes of the unmerited sufferings of the masses of their fellows, and to formulate the measures by which these could be speediest and easiest removed. Prominent among such philosophers must be placed Patrick Edward Dove, whose masterly work on "The Elements of Political Science" appeared in 1854. Like many other independent thinkers, both before and since his time, Dove found the solution of the social problem in an equitable adjustment of the equal rights of all to the use of the earth; and he formulates his arguments and conclusions in a manner which may still be studied as a model of clearness, vigour, and thoroughness. And what is specially noteworthy is, that his work contains a clear and concise exposition both of the principles and of the benefits that would accrue to mankind from the adoption of the "Single Tax"; and as the work is now somewhat scarce, we feel we shall be rendering a not inconsiderable service to our readers by placing before them, not a review nor a criticism, but a brief resumé of its contents, quoting as far as possible the author's own words.

Dove seems to have clearly recognised the inseparableness of morality and politics. "If there be no truth and no falsehood in politics," he says, "every man may do what he has the power to do; but if there be a truth and a falsehood, that truth may be investigated on the same principles as any other science, and may be maintained before the world with as little hesitancy as the truths of geometry, geology, or astronomy. Nor can we hesitate to believe that whatever interests may be involved, whatever privilege of class, whatever advantage of the few at the expense of the many, the progress of true thought will continue to roll on, and to entail with it the absolute and complete destruction of every privilege and every institution that will not stand the calm and resolute investigation of reason."

And the same train of thought can be traced in the following words, in which he lays down the main object of his work.

"The truth we wish to inculcate is, that there are principles of immutable and never-changing justice, which by no government and no majority can ever be legitimately infringed. That these principles are capable of being ascertained and developed. That they are philosophical principles—that is axioms of the human reason, to which the human reason must give its intellectual assent wherever it clearly comprehends them. That the denial of the logical consequences of these principles by those whose pecuniary interests are involved, is no more a refutation of the principles themselves than the non-admission of the earth's motion by the Roman priests, or the non-admission of the circulation of the blood by the physicians of England.

That the political well-being, not only of Britain, but of every country on the globe—that is, of the whole race of mankind—depends on the definite ascertainment, universal acknowledgement, and universal reduction to practise, of these principles of equity. That however knowledge may increase, and, by its beneficial influence, gradually improve the condition of mankind, it is to the perfection of political science that we must direct our views if we wish to ascertain these laws of reason which, when carried into practice, would ensure a *stable*, because a *just* order of society."

But, as he points out, at the present time there is "practically no politics, no common groundwork or basis on which opinions are established; and if there be in reality a science capable of being expounded, of being taught as a branch of knowledge, and of being made the rule of legislation, either it remains to be discovered, or, if already discovered, is utterly disregarded."

Our clear-sighted author recognised that this is only what is inevitable from the fact that present society is but the product of a slow and gradual evolution from a time when might, not right, determined the relations of the members of the community; that the past political progress had been simply "a progress from the reign of power, that is, to *absolute equality of rights and absolute freedom of conditions*," and that this movement had not yet attained its goal. He sums up the present position as follows:—

"In Britain the struggle has been a long but a successful one. The serf has triumphed, and, so far as personal liberty is concerned, the serf is a serf no longer. But there still remains the question of *land*. Shall the lord still continue to possess it, or shall the same process of change that has continued so long in operation, still continue to operate, and at last place the emancipated serf, *as regards the land*, on the same footing of equality that he has attained as regards personal liberty? This question each one will answer prophetically, in the mode most suited to his hopes or his fears."

Before, however, himself proceeding to a consideration of this question, he devotes three chapters to a consideration of the principles of reasoning as applied to the moral science, and concludes the first portion of his work as follows:—

"At this conclusion we must therefore arrive, either that there are axioms of duty capable of being stated as indisputable truths, and capable of being put in systematic operation, or, if there be no such axioms, then there is no duty whatever (unless such could be derived from revelation), and all morals would be mere superstition, and all laws which retrained, controlled, or punished men, only superfluous infliction.

"If, however, there are axioms of justice from which a political system can be derived, and if such a system is capable of realisation, then *that* system is the great requirement of the world, for until it be carried into practice, confusion, disorder, pauperism, and social derangement must necessarily prevail. The social world can no more produce good without being constructed on the principles of truth, than the field of labour could produce its burthen of yellow grain were we to sow a heterogeneous mixture of seeds, thistles, briers, and weeds, mingled only with a few particles of the cereal we desired. In the axioms of justice may be hid a new arrangement of the social world, prolific of human benefit to an extent which now appears only as a fabulous dream, and as the fond imagining of fancy, roving untrammelled by experience of the present, and building its future with the deceptive materials of delusive hope. It may be so, yet even now the dawn of a better, freer, more peaceful, and more prosperous world may almost be seen faintly gilding the horizon, and heralding to the eye of expectation the daybreak of a golden age, in which the fruits of righteousness shall be peace, and the effects of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever."

That the reform necessary to bring about such a desirable state of things should come from the initiative of the privileged classes, Dove was too shrewd an observer to believe. As he puts it:—"The privileged classes will not produce change for the better, because they are either ignorant or corrupt. Either they *do not know* what change ought to be made, and are consequently ignorant, or they do know, and *will not* make them, consequently are corrupt."

But to paraphrase his own words, the sufferings of the disinherited masses make them feel their wrongs, and increased knowledge will teach them how these wrongs may be righted. And that the greatest wrong from which they suffered was being deprived of their natural rights to the use of the earth—locked out from the natural opportunities, natural bounties—was manifestly clear in Dove's mind. "In examining into the original and necessary relations of men," he says, "two prominent objects naturally arrest our attention—man and earth. On the one hand, we have the race of sentient and intelligent beings who are capable of acting *justly* or *unjustly* towards each other. With them lies the question of human *liberty*, its nature, its origin, its limits (if there be any)," and the form of society best suited to preserve to every man those natural *rights* which he inherited from the mere fact of his being a *man*.

"On the other hand, we have the *earth*, the land, the sea, the air. This earth must be possessed, and with it lies the question of human *property*. How and on what principles is this earth to be divided and portioned out amongst its inhabitants?"

The liberty of each member of the community is manifestly limited by the equal liberty of his fellows; when these limits are passed, there is license, but not liberty.

After a clear and searching inquiry into this question, he arrives at the conclusion that "All living men are equal in their natural rights to the earth, that is, the earth belongs equally to the living generation of men who inhabit the surface of the globe; consequently, no disposition of the earth made by men who are dead can by any possibility affect the rights of the present inhabitants of their equitable share of the globe. Therefore, neither the land, the air, nor the ocean can by any possibility belong to any individual *allodially*. *Man is but the life-renter of the earth.*"

And in the concluding chapter of his book, he advocates the taxation of land values as the easiest and most effective means of securing to all their equal rights to the use of the earth.

"When political economy shall come to be better understood," he says, "it will be perceived that the rents of the soil paid to the non-labouring landlords, are neither more nor less than deductions made from the profits of the labourers of the country." And after further emphasis of the fact that "All men are equal in their right to the natural earth;" and of the absurdity and wrong of allowing a few to control the use and receive the rent of the land, he continued:—"To whom, then, *ought* the rents of the soil be allocated?"

"I do not hesitate to say, TO THE NATION. For the service of the nation, taxes must be derived from some quarter or other; and if the taxes had always been derived from the rents of the soil, there never would have been any tax upon industry, any Custom-house, any Excise, or any of those restrictive measures that repress industry, while they eminently contribute to separate nation from nation, and to prevent the commercial intercourse that ultimately would have abolished war. National *property* there must be *somewhere*, and assuredly it is more *just* to take that property from the natural value of the soil, than from the individual fruits of labour. From one or other it *is* and *must* be taken; and if there would be injustice in taking it from the impersonal rent of the soil, there is certainly more injustice in taking it from the profits of individual exertion."

And later on he sums up the advantages that would accrue to the nation from the adoption of such a policy, as follows:—

Speaking of the policy adopted in Australia of selling the public lands, Dove says:—"To *sell* the land is unjust to all future generations, to every new colonist, and to every child that is born to labour. It is sacrificing *society* for the sake of individuals. Such is *not* the just mode of arrangement."

"Several special advantages would attend the allocation of the rents of the soil of the nation.

"*First.*—All Customs and Excise might be abolished. This would permit a perfectly free trade with all countries, and a perfectly free trade would unite the various nations in a bond of amity which would not be the less secure because attended by commercial and pecuniary advantage. . . . .

"*Second.*—It would make one simple tax, which could be collected without expense, as the renters of the soil should be ordered to pay the rents into district exchequers, and to be accountable for all expenses if they did not do so.

"*Third.*—It would unite the manufacturing and agricultural classes into one common interest. . . . . The greater the revenue, the ~~worse~~ better for the nation.

"*Fourth.*—It would secure the utmost possible production that the soil was capable of affording. . . . .

"*Fifth.*—It would eminently tend to secure the education of the people. . . . .

"*Sixth.*—It would secure to every labourer his share of the previous labours of the community. . . . All the previous expenditure of Great Britain goes to swell the landlord's

Our Natural Storehouse, the Land, is Locked

rent, instead of tending to improve the condition of the labourer. On the contrary, if the rents were allocated to the nation, the condition of each man would improve, not merely through his own labours, but through the labours of all who had gone before him, which is fair and just, and which, in fact, constitutes a nation. . . .

"*Seventh*—The allocation of the rents of the soil to the nation is the only possible means by which a *just* distribution of the created wealth can be effected. . . . .

"And *Finally*—It is the law of God, as declared in the constitution of the terrestrial world, and the law of Christianity, as declared in the written Scriptures, that the industrious man should be rich, and that the man who labours not should be poor. The whole economy of Britain is a direct infringement of this great law of property—of this great and fundamental principle which God established for the economical government of the world, when he made the earth to yield its riches in return for human labour. And their wealth is secured in such a manner that it descends from generation to generation, and goes on constantly increasing without any exertion on their part. Were they to sleep for a hundred years, they would wake more wealthy than ever; and if they did wake, they would wake only to encumber the industry of the country, to retard its progress, to prevent the amendment of its institutions, and to maintain a party warfare against its real prosperity. As a class they are antagonistic to industry, enemies to freedom and to progress, barriers to the civilisation of the world, living on the fruits of other men's labours, yet hating the toil which alone endows them with wealth. They are the evil remnants of the feudal system, who, in their faded power, have sunk into the bribers and corrupters of the electors of the country. . . . They are the true *surplus population*—ever consuming, nothing producing—fed, clothed, and sheltered at the expense of the nation, and returning to the nation nothing but hindrance to its welfare.

"Such a system—a shilling a-day to a labourer who does labour, and a thousand pounds a-day to a Lord who does *not* labour—such a system contains within itself the elements of national decay, or the elements of national disaster. Either the nation must be sacrificed to the landed interest, or the landed interest (composed of thirty or thirty-five thousand families, in Great Britain) must be sacrificed to the interests of the nation."

And he concludes his great work with the following strikingly beautiful and philosophic paragraph:—

"The great requisite, then, is to return to the laws of Nature, of Providence, of God—to let the skilful and industrious man be rich, and not to accord wealth to those who produce nothing for the welfare of mankind. If, as I have endeavoured to prove, the rents of the soil are only the common profits of the whole labours of the community, the rents of the soil are the only legitimate source of taxation—the only possible source from which the revenues of the nation can equitably be derived. To tax labour is to disunite society—it makes the nation only an aggregation of unassociated individuals. To tax the rents of the soil is to unite society—it makes the nation a community bound together by the ties of a common interest, and a common welfare. This is the true, and the only true, theory of a *Nation*—that the soil belongs to it in perpetuity, and never can be alienated from it; and that he who will give the greatest rent for the soil becomes the cultivator, and pays the rent to the nation for the benefit of the whole community. Then, but not till then, will labour reap its natural reward—the reward appointed by Providence in the divine constitution of the terrestrial economy. Then will the welfare of one be the welfare of all—then will men be banded together by a true citizenship—and then will the first great step be taken towards that mighty brotherhood which springs from our common parentage, and which is at once the promise and the prophecy of the Christian faith—

"And man to man the world ower
Shall brothers be, an' a' that."

"The Story of My Dictatorship" has been translated and adapted into Japanese under the title of "The President of China."

THE LIVING WAGE.

(To the Editor of The Single Tax.)

SIR,—Social reformers who have made up their minds that the best and most natural way to solve the various labour problems (that of wages included), the sum of which form the great and all absorbing social problem, is to break the bonds of land monopoly and allow labour room to expand its operations, find the road of progress bestrewn with many obstacles. So many allurements are there to tempt them from the straight gate and so numerous are the side tracks inviting them to explore their intricacies, that much time is lost in calling a halt to consider whether it were wise to turn aside from the main track or to go straight ahead.

Of such a nature is this question of a living wage, for wage earners being admittedly the class in need of elevation, any legislative proposal likely to affect their conditions must have a special interest for true social reformers. In considering this question I take it as granted that any attempt at adjusting wages can only be looked on as a makeshift pending the entire solution of the question of work and wages. For if that fundamental principle of political economy which declares that labour produces all wealth be admitted, no scheme which stops short of securing the entire product of labour as wages can logically be considered.

Arriving now, as I have, at the conclusion that a living wage is but a palliative, the next question to be considered is whether it will really palliate. To this I am inclined to answer no! As it seems to me as clear as that two and two make four, that so long as present economic arrrangements obtain, wages must constantly tend towards subsistence point. For so long as there remains one unemployed man so long will there be a competition for the lowest wages; for this competition for an opportunity to work always converges towards the lowest point of the social structure when it does not actually begin there. This will readily be seen when you consider that the competition for work becomes less and less intense as more and more skill is required, until you come to the professions where the highest wages are obtained. Thus it becomes possible for the outcast in the highest grade to compete successfully against those of a lower grade, and so on till we reach the bottom, where the competition is felt in all its intensity because of the impossibility to find an outlet for it, owing to the artificial barriers set up by landlordism in refusing the use of more land on which to expend this surplus energy.

But it will be said that while this is true, it is also true that governing bodies who employ labourers have it within their power to pay a living wage to their employees, and thereby set an example to individual employers. But as we have seen wages are not fixed by example but by competition, and it may fairly be questioned whether these administrative bodies were acting within their rights in creating a privileged class of labourers, seeing that these enhanced wages would be obtained by taxing the sweated and already over-taxed labour of the general community.

The function of government is not to create privileges for any class within its jurisdiction but to arrange and maintain equal rights for all; and it would be more to the purpose if these governing bodies would turn their attention to the cause of low wages. In landlordism they will find the force which has taxed wages down to subsistence point: the force which has produced want and the fear of want in a land of plenty, and which has taxed labourers off the land and into the ranks of the unemployed by a persistent and insidious system of rack-renting. They could then begin to raise the status of every wage earner by taxing the landlord off the land and allowing the labourer to get on again. Then would wages rise, for no man would compete for an opportunity to earn a subsistence wage in a sweating den, when he could earn more by his own unaided exertions directly on the land. Then would freedom of contract be something more than a name. Wages would then be fixed by what a man was able to produce instead of by the competition of native aliens as at present, when Monopoly and Hunger seals the bargain.—I am, &c.,

W. R.

A CRITICISM.

To the Editor of the Single Tax.

SIR,—I have always deemed it my duty to do all that my limited ability would enable me to do to get readers for the *Single Tax*. I may say that I feel proud of our paper, not only for it being Single Tax, but also for its merit as a literary production. Nearly every one to whom I gave a copy of it gave expression to their appreciation of it in flattering terms

I have been in the habit of getting a number of copies every month since it was first published and giving them away. Some of those to whom I gave it voluntary promised to get it every month. But I found that, for men who have not learned to know its full value, a month is a long time to keep it in mind, and through this and the inconvenience of getting it, they failed to do so. Therefore, when anyone consents now to become a reader I offer to get it for him. "GO THOU AND DO LIKEWISE."

I am pleased to see that the *Single Tax* has always something about socialism or Socialists. I would recommend a more aggressive attitude by Single Tax men towards socialism in the future than has been in the past. It is not enough to act on the defensive, because by doing so the Single Tax is placed to a disadvantage by it being made the object of attack before men whose reasoning faculties are not properly developed. It takes less ability to attack than to defend, and Socialists seem to know this. Socialism should be assailed from first principles, because from these premises it is indefensible. I believe many well meaning people, ignorant of human nature, and not thinking of first principles, are misled into socialism under the erroneous impression that the teachings of Jesus and the teachings of modern socialism are identical.

Glasgow, April 10th, 1895. I am, &c., ARCHIBALD M'DONALD.

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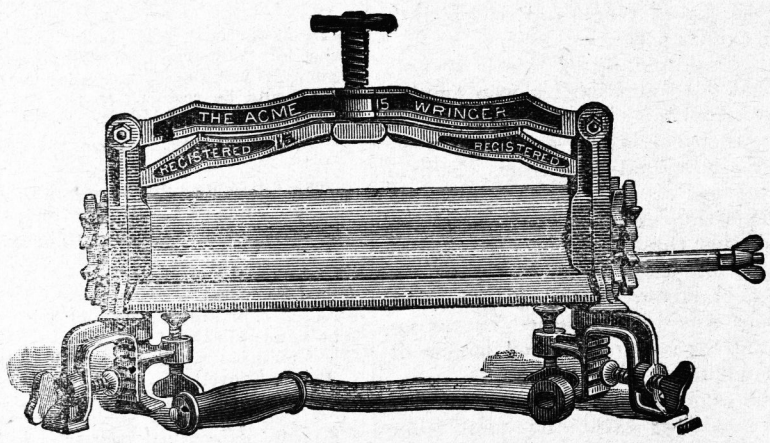

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